

Inuvialuit-Parks Canada Partnerships in Heritage

The statutory context for Parks Canada CRM activities within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) has been provided by Lee's article (infra.). North Yukon (now Ivvavik) National Park was the first established pursuant to an aboriginal comprehensive claim (DIAND 1984); and subsequent to the 1984 signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA), two national park establishment agreements have been concluded. Lee (infra.) alludes to the 1992 Aulavik National Park agreement (DoE 1992), while the agreement for Tukturnogait NP was signed on June 28, 1996 (DCH 1996). Section 8 of the latter speaks to cultural resources, particularly archaeological remains, in detail and based to a certain extent on precedents set by the Aulavik agreement and the Nunavut Comprehensive Claim implementation contract (DIAND 1993). It is indicative of Inuvialuit concerns that this section was one of the last to be finalized during negotiations and the agreement leaves little doubt that they are full partners in management of Tukturnogait NP cultural resources.

Aboriginal Heritage Recording in Western Arctic

With John Franklin's observations and illustration of an Inuit coastal settlement in 1826, we have the first European record of ancestral Inuvialuit lifeways (Coates 1979).

Subsequent 19th-century observers included a series of Hudson's Bay Company employees and missionaries; the most informative being Roderick Ross MacFarlane, an HBC employee who established Fort Anderson in 1861 (Smith 1984), and the Oblate missionary Father Emile Petitot, who resided intermittently in the Mackenzie Delta and Anderson River region between 1866 and 1872 (Petitot 1983).

The first anthropological research was by an American who visited Herschel Island and the adjacent Yukon North Slope in 1893-94. The Frank Russell Expedition journals are held by the Smithsonian Institution. His ethnographic collections are also held by the University of Iowa, who published his account *Explorations in the Far North* (Russell 1898). Early 20th-century researchers included Stefansson, Mathiasen and Rasmussen of the Fifth Thule Expedition, and Diamond Jenness of Canada's National Museum. Nuligak was the first Inuvialuit voice to be heard in his autobiography (Metayer 1966). Linguistic contributions have been made by Petitot and most recently by Ronald Lowe of Université Laval (i.e., Lowe 1984), working for the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) leading up to the signing of the IFA. Lowe's Uummarmiut, Siglit and Kangiryuarmit dictionaries and grammars are the standard Inuvialuktun reference works.

Archaeological research in the ISR of the Western Arctic began with the surveys of R.S. MacNeish of the National Museum of Canada in the 1950s (MacNeish 1956). He was followed by no less than seven archaeologists from the same institution; as well as 10 academic researchers from across southern Canada and from Germany, plus the senior heritage managers from the Yukon and the Northwest Territorial governments. Much of the most recent research was supported by the federally funded Archaeology Project of the Northern Oil and Gas Action Plan (Cinq-Mars and Pilon 1991; Pilon 1994). The majority of research within what is now Ivvavik National Park was undertaken by Canadian Museum of Civilization (formerly National Museum) staff prior to the establishment of the park. Likewise, all the acade-

Agnes White (centre) interviews Charlie and Persis Gruben at Kitigaryuit. Photo courtesy of the Inuvialuit Social Development Program.



mic research within Aulavik and Tukut Nogait National Parks occurred pre-establishment.

The Parks Canada Program

CRM activities in Western Arctic District parks were initiated with Gary Adams' 1987 field survey along the Firth River in Ivvavik National Park. Adams focused on relocating and assessing the condition of previously recorded sites, particularly those reported by MacNeish (Adams 1989). Subsequently, Parks Canada archaeological staff have undertaken inventories along the Thomsen River of Aulavik NP in 1994/95 (Webster 1996) and the Firth River in Ivvavik during 1995; as well as initiating a multi-year multi-disciplinary Inuvialuit site documentation project along the Beaufort Sea coast of the same park.

The Inuvik office was approached first late in 1988 concerning an "Inuvialuit Cultural Study" proposal connected with the development of a management plan for Herschel Island Yukon Territorial Park. By the 1990s, a cost-shared oral history project was initiated under the auspices of the Inuvialuit Social Development Program (ISDP), involving the Yukon Heritage Branch and Parks Canada. Murielle Nagy was contracted to direct this project. While traditional knowledge focused on natural resource harvesting had been recorded by COPE as part of their IFA negotiation research, the Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History project was the first interview project to attempt wide ranging documentation on former Inuvialuit lifeways. Two seasons were spent in Inuvialuit elder interviewing, and the final synthesis was published by the Yukon Heritage Branch (Nagy 1994a). Later in 1994, Ms. Nagy was contracted by Parks Canada to initiate community consultations in Sachs Harbour relating to an oral history project, in compliance with section 5.02 of the Aulavik NP establishment agreement (Nagy 1994b).

These consultations led to a two-year contract with the ISDP for interviewing elders and archival research directed to recording Inuvialuit subsistence activities on Banks Island and traditional knowledge related to the park area in particular. A major final report and data base including taped interviews, written and photo documents will be completed by mid-1997. Parks Canada has also funded Inuvialuit elder interview projects connected with the Ivvavik coastal project (Fox 1996), with Kitigaryuit (Kittigazuit) National Historic Site (Nasogaluak and Cockney 1996, IRC 1996a,b) and with the Paulatuk Community Archaeology Project (Kirby 1995).

The first is connected with the ongoing Inuvialuit Coastal Heritage Project and was an attempt to augment the substantial Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History database for the area

within Ivvavik NP. Particular emphasis was placed on information related to local place names and former site-specific subsistence activities. These elder interviews will be continued in 1997, focusing on the Inuvialuit sites from Nuneluk Spit, west to the Alaska border. Similar studies have been completed for the Alaskan coastal plain, westward past Kaktovik to the Canning River drainage (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982; Libby 1983). The final products from this documentary project will include enhanced information for the Ivvavik GIS database, a traditional resource management report and an interactive traditional knowledge computer program for school use in the ISR.

Kitigaryuit (Kittigazuit) was designated a National Historic Site in 1978, without consultation with the Inuvialuit peoples. This large former Mackenzie Inuit (Inuvialuit) community had been archaeologically investigated by R. McGhee of the National Museum in 1969 (McGhee 1974), and it was on the basis of his research that the site was recommended to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) for designation. The author approached the adjacent modern community of Tuktoyaktuk concerning the site's national status in early 1995, but received a chilly reception. Subsequently, Cathy Cockney of the ISDP office in Inuvik contacted the community and developed an interview project aimed at accumulating all extant oral historical data on the former community of Kitigaryuit, in preparation for a future management plan funding submission to the HSMBC. This resulted in a combined oral history and site mapping project in 1996, involving the ISDP, Community of Tuktoyaktuk, Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC) of the Government of the Northwest Territories and Parks Canada staff and funding. Plans are underway to continue this research and documentation project to completion in 1997.

In August 1994, the Community of Sachs Harbour worked with Parks Canada to present a one-week outdoor education program in Aulavik National Park for students from Inualthatuak School. Two elder couples joined the teachers, community member facilitators, an Inuvialuit Communications Society video technician and students from Grades 3 to 9 at a camp on the Thomsen River. A series of half-day activities were guided by Parks Canada staff, including the Aulavik Chief Park Warden, Western Arctic Ecologist and Arctic Archaeologist. Martha and Frank Kudlak, and Lena and Geddes Wolki shared their experiences travelling on the land in a series of personal reminiscences. The proceedings were video-taped and later broadcast on TVNC across the Canadian Arctic. This cost-shared school heritage program was successful to the extent that

Barbara Cameron photographs Angik School students excavating a sod house site near Paulatuk. Photo courtesy of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre.



other communities approached Parks Canada to assist in developing similar field schools.

One result was the Paulatuk Community Archaeology Project funded by Parks Canada and directed by Margaret Bertulli of the PWNHC during August 1995 and 1996 (Bertulli 1995). Students from Angik School have participated in the excavation of a sod house built by Lester Asisauna in 1933, just north of the present Community of Paulatuk. Rosemary Kirby undertook interviews with Paulatuk elders and produced a report with suggestions for the inclusion of the resulting archaeological and historical information into the local school curriculum (Kirby 1995).

Section 5.06 of the Aulavik NP establishment agreement commits Parks Canada and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation to making "best efforts to negotiate a (archaeological specimen) custody agreement within five years ..." (DoE 1992). Parks Canada contracted with the ISDP in 1996 to develop a draft agreement applicable to all national parks in the ISR. As part of the community consultation process, representatives from Aklavik, Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk, Sachs Harbour and Holman travelled to Yellowknife and Winnipeg in February 1996 to meet archaeological collections management specialists and view Western Arctic artifacts at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature (HBC collection), and Parks Canada Professional and Technical Service Centre (IRC 1996a). This permitted all parties to fully appreciate the range of conservation and curatorial issues involved in artifact collections management on the one hand, as well as the deep desire for access to heritage information on the part of the Inuvialuit peoples, on the other. The visits proved to be educational and enjoyable for all the participants, including the heritage professionals, to the extent that one

Inuvialuit community representative indicated that he would be interested in a career in archaeology were he a little younger. The museum curators were pleased to see the interest and concern shown by the Inuvialuit representatives for the care of Arctic heritage materials. This was expressed subsequently in section 8.4 of the Tuktoyaktuk NP establishment agreement wherein the Alberta Museums Association *Standards Practice Handbook of*

Museums is referenced in regard to minimum standards for the curation of archaeological artifacts in any future ISR repository. A draft custody agreement will be delivered to Parks Canada by the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation in Autumn 1996.

In 1996, Parks Canada joined with Inuvialuit, GNWT and other federal agencies to sponsor an Aklavik community project entitled *Retracing Inuvialuit Footprints* (IRC 1996b). Two student trips from Aklavik to Kaktovik, Alaska, were organized by Danny C. Gordon and his wife, Annie. The project objective was to familiarize the students with travel and subsistence skills on the land and introduce them to family relations in Kaktovik. Two Parks Canada Inuvialuit staff accompanied the group on the April trip by snowmobile and komatik. In July, the students arrived by boat at Tapqaq in time to witness the second bowhead whale harvested by the Inuvialuit peoples; an unexpected bonus to another successful trip.

The projects described above reflect a growing partnership between Parks Canada and the people of the ISR in the recording and presentation of Inuvialuit heritage. It is a relationship that has developed slowly due to the inter-cultural conflicts of the last century and those between our agency culture and the Inuvialuit during the 1980s (Johnston 1996). There are still differences of opinion and perspective between Parks Canada and the Inuvialuit, and among the Inuvialuit themselves in regard to heritage conservation or cultural resource management activities related to Canada's national parks. There always will be. Only continuous dialogue will ensure the good faith necessary for a quality working relationship, and Parks Canada is committed to this. The recent hiring of Inuvialuit beneficiary Gerry Kisoun will

go a long way to opening and maintaining the lines of communication with the Inuvialuit peoples. The continued hiring and training of beneficiary field staff can only strengthen our CRM regimes in all three national parks.

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